Daily Report

East Europe

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Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-94-150 *4 August 1994*

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Bosnian Prime Minister Arrives in Geneva

AU0308161794 Paris AFP in English 1550 GMT 3 Aug 94

[Text] Geneva, Aug 3 (AFP)—Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic arrived in Geneva Wednesday for a meeting of the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) "Contact Group" on former Yugoslavia, the Bosnian diplomatic mission here said.

Foreign ministers of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Egypt, Malaysia, Pakistan and Bangladesh are to meet Thursday.

They would "express their strong support for Bosnia and (show) they are ready to hold an OIC summit if the international contact group shirks its duty" in enforcing UN exclusion zones and punishing rejection of the peace plan, Bosnian Ambassador Mustafa Bijedic told AFP.

Silajdzic, accompanied by Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubjankic, is due to stay in Geneva until Thursday evening, he added.

On Tuesday, Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Moussa criticised the West for being too soft on the Serbs, regretting that promised "sanctions are not being applied appropriately." He also said Thursday's meeting should "consider what measures Islamic countries could take to support the position of Moslems in Bosnia."

The Contact Group of Britain, France, Germany, Russia and the United States has called on the UN Security Council to toughen sanctions against the Bosnian Serbs' patrons in Belgrade after Serb rejection of their latest partition plan, but this is considered hard to enforce.

The Croat-Moslem Bosnian Federation had already accepted the plan which gives 51 percent of the territory in a unitary Bosnian state to the Federation and 49 percent to the Serbs. The Serbs currently control 70 percent of the territory.

Islamic Foreign Ministers Meet

AU0408112794 Paris AFP in English 1112 GMT 4 Aug 94

[Text] Geneva, Aug 4 (AFP) - Islamic foreign ministers on Thursday [4 August] met here to discuss the Bosnian Serbs' decision to reject an international peace plan and instead submit the partition of Bosnian to a referendum.

Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, accompanied by Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic, brushed past reporters without comment as they arrived for a meeting of the "Islamic contact group" of foreign ministers of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference [OIC] focusing on Bosnia.

Pakistan Foreign Minister Sardar Aseff Ali, who was chairing the session, said he wanted the Islamic group to work with the international contact group—Britain, France, Germany, Russia and the United States—in seeking a solution to the Bosnian conflict.

The OIC meeting of eight foreign ministers is due to discuss the lifting of sanctions in order to allow the outgunned Bosnian Moslems to rearm. The Pakistani minister said there was "the possibility of an OIC summit to take a very strong position" on Bosnia.

"Basically what we are trying to do is to knock at the conscience of Europe so that aggression is reversed in Bosnia and the peace plan accepted," he said.

Diplomatic sources said that the OIC foreign ministers would consider strengthening sanctions against Belgrade as well as seeking a "clarification" of the UN arms embargo also affecting Bosnia.

They would also discuss the demilitarisation of Sarajevo and the situation in the "safe havens" which include Bihac, Gorazde, Srebrenica, Tuzla and Zepa in addition to Sarajevo.

The OIC meeting groups Bangladesh, Bosnia, Egypt, Iran, Malaysia, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Turkey.

The session comes after the Bosnian Serbs, meeting at their "parliament" in Pale outside Sarajevo, voted Wednesday to hold a referendum at the end of the month on the contact group's peace plan in defiance of their Serbian patron and the international community.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said his people should prepare for total isolation and declare "a state of war".

The blueprint would divide the republic along ethnic lines, forcing the Serbs to give back a third of the land they have conquered in 27 months of war and co-exist in a unitary state with the new Croat-Moslem federation.

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Greece Invited To Reestablish 'Sincere Dialogue'

AU0308182894 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 3 Aug 94

[Text] A statement by a Foreign Ministry spokesman reads: In Albania, justice is sovereign—that is why yesterday's statements by Greek Government Spokesman Venizelos regarding the issue of the illegal activity of six Albanian citizens of Greek origin are considered a brutal and unacceptable intervention into the activity of judicial bodies and Albania's internal affairs.

The Albanian Government stresses once again what it declared two months ago—that it is not at all in Greece's interest to make a great fuss about a serious affair in which Greek officials, and state and religious institutions have been involved.

For its part, the Albanian Government, despite the gravity of this affair, is determined for the sake of good neighborliness to consider it an action that should not permanently affect Albanian- Greek relations.

The Albanian Government is also convinced that the trial of six Albanian citizens of Greek origin, which will be held soon, will be open, impartial, and honest. The government also affirms once again its conviction that the activity of these six persons under indictment, as well as the dimensions of the crime they have committed, do not at all involve the Greek minority in Albania and its excellent relations with Albanians.

At the same time, the Albanian Government invites the Greek Government to reestablish a sincere dialogue with Albania so as to overcome the disputes and problems created between the two neighboring countries.

Report on Berisha Request to Iliescu 'Distortion'

AU0308185194 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 3 Aug 94

[Text] The statement by Albanian Assembly member (?Zeleli) to BBC Radio, according to which Albanian President Sali Berisha had asked his Romanian counterpart, Ion Iliescu, to play a mediating role between the Albanians and the Serbs, is a distortion of reality, the spokesman of the Albanian Presidency said, cited by the ATA news agency and received by ROMPRES.

According to the original source, when he was in Bucharest, Mr. Berisha had asked the Romanian president to exert influence upon the Serbian party to promote dialogue with the Albanian party. Even now, President Berisha would salute such efforts and appreciate the positive contribution to that purpose of a friendly country such as Romania.

During the talks held by the two presidents, Romania's contribution as a third party was neither discussed nor requested, contrary to what Mr. (?Zeleli) told the BBC, Albania's Presidency states.

Leading Newspapers To Cease Publication 4 Aug

AU0408062294 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 3 Aug 94

[Text] Tomorrow, readers will have a few less newspapers in their hands. As a sign of protest against the taxes and tariffs on the press, which according to them are very heavy, 10 newspapers, namely KOHA JONE, DITA INFORMACION, POPULLI PO, JAVA, INTERVISTA, ZERI I POPULLIT, ALEANCA, REPUBLIKA, KOMBI, and DEMOKRACIA decided, as they had warned, to stop publication of their newspapers as of 4 August. With the permission of the strike commission, only the newspaper REPUBLIKA will be published tomorrow.

The resumption of the publication of newspapers will be announced by a special bulletin of the strike commission. The strike commission will try to negotiate with the government regarding their demands. The newspapers PASQYRA and the editorial office of ALTERNATIVA SOCIALDEMOKRATE have expressed solidarity with the strike of the 10 aforementioned newspapers.

Government Spokesman Comments

AU0408062594 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 3 Aug 94

[Statement by an Albanian Government spokesman; place and date not given]

[Text] Regarding a statement by the leftist newspapers, which are to cease publication if their demands are not met, the government's spokesman stresses that they are completely unacceptable and are based on deception and the old socialist hypocrisy of a society without taxes. The government has and will not have its own newspapers. The government is for a free press independent from it. That is why the government has not subsidized and will not subsidize the press. The problem of readers reading the newspapers and valuing them is not a question for the government, but of the newspapers' professionalism.

What the government is now studying is a suggestion by the president of the republic to reduce customs tariffs on all imports of printing works without any exception, so as to facilitate and stimulate the activity and development of these enterprises in Albania. Books and press in general will profit from this. The strike that the newspapers are announcing to their readers is a phenomenon of democratic society that ZERI I POPULLIT and its sister papers can practice freely.

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SDS's Dimitrov, Romanian Party Leader Meet

AU0308132194 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 29 Jul 94 p 2

[Text] Sofia (DEMOKRATSIYA)—The not completely eliminated structures of the former communist parties and totalitarian security services are exerting a negative effect on the democratic development of Bulgaria and Romania—this was the common view that Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] National Coordinating Council, and Romanian opposition leader Prof. Emil Constantinescu expressed yesterday at their first personal meeting. The meeting had been proposed by Prof. Constantinescu, president of the Democratic Convention of Romania, the main opposition force in the country, which gained 32 percent of the seats in the Romanian Parliament. He stopped in Sofia following his visit to Albania. Asen Agov, deputy chairman of the SDS National Coordinating Council and the director of the Romanian Foundation for Democracy also took part in the meeting.

In their talks, Dimitrov and Prof. Constantinescu concentrated on the similar problems experienced by Bulgaria and Romania in the period of transition from a communist society to democracy. The two politicians declared that from the opposition's viewpoint no issues of principle divided the two countries. They examined the prospects for limiting the new imperial influences on the Balkan peninsula through joint actions by the Democratic Convention of Romania and the SDS, when the two coalitions assume power following the forthcoming elections in Bulgaria and Romania. They also discussed the future development of transportation links between the two countries.

Filip Dimitrov and Prof. Emil Constantinescu stressed that close cooperation between the anticommunist movements in each country was essential to ensure victory in the elections in the two countries. They also shared their experiences in building up strong local structures.

Prof. Constantinescu invited Filip Dimitrov to visit Bucharest for talks with the leadership of the Democratic Convention of Romania.

Pro-Berov Assembly Majority Reportedly Formed

AU0308112694 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 29 Jul 94 p 1

[Report by Boyka Bashlieva: "New Parliamentary Majority Reportedly Formed by 129 Deputies"]

[Excerpt] According to persistent reports in the lobbies of the parliament, the new majority in the National Assembly is almost ready. It will include 129 deputies, a politician who managed to take a peek at a certain secret list said. Negotiations on new ministers, with whose aid the Berov administration is supposed to become a coalition cabinet in the autumn, are said to be in their final stages. Other sources, no less well informed, declared that at the moment all this is only being discussed in theory.

Yesterday, there was more parliamentary activity in the lobbies than in the debating chamber. Ludzhev and Pushkarov's supporters signed a document to cement their alliance, while the supporters of Michkovski [deputies of Alternative Social Liberal Party] and GOR [Civic Alliance for the Republic] leader Tomov held long discussions and promised to reach a final agreement today on a new political alliance.

The DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement] parliamentary group shut itself up in its room and sent only a few deputies to sit in the chamber. The SDS deputies and members of the "small" groups loitered in the corridors, with the end result that today's plenary session was suspended for lack of a quorum before it had really started. [passage omitted]

Embargo Said To Promote 'Mafia' Operations

AU0308111594 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 30-31 Jul p 4

[Commentary by Krasimir Tsigularov: "Benefactors of the Mafia"]

[Text] It has become clear from a statement by the U.S. secretary of state that the UN Security Council will be asked to adopt measures to tighten the embargo on Serbia. These include tightening the economic sanctions against Serbian interests outside Serbia, against subsidiaries of Serbian enterprises abroad, and blocking the transfer of funds to Serbia.

Experience gathered from Bulgaria's strict adherence to the Yugo-embargo to date suggests that the measures will also be applied here. A considerable number of mixed companies or companies owned by Serbian citizens are operating in Bulgaria, and these will have to be "frozen." However, it is quite natural to assume that nothing of the kind will happen and that the companies will continue to operate, merely formally changing their ownership.

It is possible to control the bank channels for transferring funds to Yugoslavia, but it is impossible to fully control cash settlements. The Bulgarian border has provided enough proof of its "permeability."

May the embargo continue for as long as possible—this is a phrase one often hears in the border regions, and not only there. The observance of the embargo to date has only inflicted damage on Bulgarian state enterprises and blocked trade routes. At their expense, a powerful criminal network has developed that has taken control of the illegal traffic to Serbia. In that sense, the authors of the embargo are yet again acting as benefactors of the mafia.

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Official on Control of Intelligence Services

AU0208064194 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 26 Jul 94 pp 1-2

[Interview with Vladimir Suman, chairman of the Defense and Security Committee, by Jan Bednar; place and date not given: "The Secret Services Should Be Controlled by Five to Seven Reliable People"]

[Text] At its most recent plenary meeting, the Czech Republic's parliament approved a bill on the intelligence services and the Security and Information Service [BIS], which defines the scope of activity of the services in the Czech Republic. According to the law, the government assigns tasks to the intelligence services, and their control is to be divided between the government and parliament. The way of performing parliamentary control has not yet been fixed. It will be contained in a separate law, which is being prepared. Vladimir Suman (Civic Democratic Alliance), chairman of the Defense and Security Committee, provided us with more details.

[Bednar] How satisfied are you with the approved law on the secret services?

[Suman] I have no objections. The bills passed in the form recommended by our committee. Even the debate in the Chamber of Deputies was virtually without problems. I am satisfied, and now it is only important that the bill on parliamentary control be prepared in cooperation with the government and the deputies. In the first place, we will be concerned with the principles of this law. I have the impression that cooperation with the government will reduce the probability of "controversial" principles. This does not mean that we have to reach consensus in all details, but, in any case—and Minister Ruml is well-disposed toward it—it will be good if the principles of the law are established in mutual cooperation.

[Bednar] Do you have a clear idea of how the parliament's control of the security services should look in the future?

[Suman] This is a very complicated matter. I have clear criteria rather than a way of how to meet them. Above all, I believe that the control body should be very slim. This means that it should have five to seven people. Fewer than five would be impossible, I believe, and more than seven would be impractical. At the same time, they should be people very much "trusted" in the Chamber of Deputies. That means that a criterion could be that they should be people who are already well known in the Chamber of Deputies. Because we do not make the law for only this period but for a long time, they should be deputies who have been in the Chamber of Deputies for the second year. Parliament should know them as people who have the quality we call "loyalty to secrecy." One the of very important aspects is the trust of the intelligence services that the members of the controlling organ will not allow "leaks."

[Bednar] What powers should the parliament have in controlling the BIS?

[Suman] Balanced powers are another aspect of this problem. On the one hand, it should have efficient parliamentary control, because intelligence services have to be under control. On the other hand, it is necessary for our controlling activity not to reduce the efficiency of the work of the services. This means that, in order to take both views into account, we must balance the control function of parliament in a certain way. It will be difficult, but I am of the opinion that, finally, we will be able to find such a balanced model of control. Those are basic criteria on which I will build my stances when we debate the details of the new bill.

Klaus Suggests 18-19 Nov for Local Elections

LD0308160494 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1500 GMT 3 Aug 94

[Excerpt] Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus will suggest that President Vaclav Havel call local elections for 18-19 November. This decision was made by the government at its meeting today. The parties will have to submit the list of candidates by 12 September.

The Ministry of Finance has made the total sum of 414 million korunas available for the elections. [passage omitted]

Klaus Critical of Emigres Seeking Preferences

94CH0356D Prague PRAGUE POST in English 13-19 Jul 94 p 13

[Letters to the editor by Petr Bisek, publisher of CESKOSLOVENSKY TYDENIK, and Czech Republic Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus: "Czech Emigres Still Irritate Prime Minister"]

[Text] The following is an open letter to Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus that recently appeared on the front page of CESKOSLOVENSKY TYDENIK, an independent Czech- and Slovak-American biweekly newspaper published in New York.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

Since I never received an answer to the three letters that I sent you over the past three years, I am forced to resort to making use of my position as publisher of CESKOSLOVENSKY TYDENIK by making a public appeal to you. Let me give a brief preface.

You and I met once, shortly after the "Velvet Revolution," in February 1990, at one of your many press conferences. At the time, we were preparing to publish the first issue of our Czechoslovak-American biweekly, and I was in Prague to establish the necessary contacts. I too experienced the post-November euphoria: I listened to the famous speeches made on Wenceslas Square; I saw tears of joy while Vaclav Havel delivered his speech on

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Old Town Square and I joined the throngs of enthusiastic thousands as they made their way to Prague Castle. This was a very special experience, and it was not easy for me to make the decision to return to my family in America and begin publishing a new expatriate paper.

At the end of the above-mentioned press conference, I asked you about your attitude toward those in exile. Your answer—"Expatriates irritate me"—surprised me. I couldn't understand it and I felt hurt, but unfortunately there was no time for a more detailed explanation. I was stung because I knew how thousands of Czechs and Slovaks living abroad were thrilled by the fall of the communist regime and how much they would like to help their homeland in some way.

The fact that no massive, organized assistance was forthcoming was neither the fault of the exiles nor of those at home. Everything happened in such fast succession that nobody was prepared. In addition, the situation at home did not develop anywhere near the way exiles had hoped. The conditions for facilitating their return were not created. On the contrary, many of us began to realize how powerful the anti-exile forces in Prague actually were. This was borne out by the laws passed by the first federal parliament, which clearly was dominated by those with anti-exile sentiments.

Even today, three years later, the attitude of the Czech Republic toward those in exile has remained essentially unchanged. For shortage of space, I present a simplified account:

(1) The property stolen from those in exile remains stolen; the condition of permanent residency is offensive and undemocratic; the pensions paid out to those in the United States, in spite of an agreement concluded between Czechoslovakia and the United States in 1968, have become a mere pittance and the actual paying out of the money has become chaotic; the abuse of the agreement on dual nationality adopted in 1928 rings of empty bureaucratic maneuvering, and the current election law simply stinks, as we say. Moreover, your personal defense of the chairman of the parliamentary foreign affairs committee, Dr. Jiri Payne, illustrates for many expatriates your incomprehensibly hostile attitude toward them.

(2) In spite of 40 years of communist propaganda attempting to instill hatred toward those who left their homeland and in spite of the public-opinion surveys that Deputy Payne likes to refer to, I trust that the relationships between the people at home to those living in exile are not worse than relationships between citizens who never permanently left their native land. We who are living abroad are most aware of this. We have friends and relations at home with whom we maintain contact and whom we love. And since there are many of us out there, it is very easy for us to see that the majority of people at home respect us, are not afraid of us and could live in harmony with us. Thus we are even more concerned about the irresponsible statements made by Deputy Payne and the new laws that seem to be designed to dynamite the fragile bridges existing between the Czech Republic and those in exile.

I personally believe that the Czech Republic is on the way to creating a prosperous, democratic and humane society. I firmly believe there will be a reconciliation between its expatriates and you, Mr. Prime Minister, which will benefit both sides. I also believe it is now the time for you to make a generous gesture and to publicly declare a "lucid" pro-exile policy. You can start immediately with a revised election law that will not put any limitations on Czech citizens living abroad, particularly the limitation that exiles will only be entitled to vote for the Senate. (It is not lost on us that the Senate does not even exist yet.) This would be a friendly handshake from which you too would stand to gain. The majority of expatriates would probably not vote, but those who would go to the polls would probably vote for your party, the Civic Democratic Party (ODS).

Sincerely,
Petr Bisek

And Klaus writes back:

Dear Sir:

The problems concerning the relationship of emigres toward their homeland are very complicated and would deserve a longer answer. At issue is a whole complex of very intricate relationships and ties that are very difficult to describe. Any kind of simplification or sweeping statements lead to inaccurate and misleading interpretations. The relationship of Czech emigres to their native land and the attempt to clarify and define it after 1989 are all examples of greater or lesser misunderstandings, strong-worded declarations, simplifications and sweeping statements.

Thousands of Czech emigres took advantage of the democratic developments in our country after 1989 and quietly, without ostentatious proclamations, began to renew their severed links and ties. These people did so regardless of whether they were or are citizens of the Czech Republic and regardless of whether they wished to live here or wanted to remain in their adopted countries. They did not ask what advantages could be gained from this but acted on what they wanted for themselves and for the Czech Republic. I think that this process was very successful and that the underlying issue was never a desire for "something in exchange for something."

Unfortunately, a certain and, I think, small section of emigres who were or wanted to be more visible and who pretended that they were acting or speaking on behalf of a silent majority, introduced into these relations a certain element of mistrust. There were demands involving the exchange of something for something, which has been a matter that worries me in my own attitude toward emigres, because that is not the way to a resolution of problems, but a way to escalating tension, a way that

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leads to a deterioration of mutual relations between the citizens of the Czech Republic who live here and those who reside abroad.

Your letter, too, is an example of this approach. You have selected several problems quite at random, without any connection, without weighing their importance, without considering any time factor. You fail to show concrete situations that would lend credence to your idea that the attitude of the Czech Republic towards its emigres is, a priori, bad. I shall not express my opinion on each issue you raise because of the way you selected the problems and because of your underlying intent. As I have already mentioned, this path leads nowhere.

The only way to approach and solve the entire problem is to engage in a continual dialogue, which is already taking place and will continue. We must listen to and understand one another. There is a need to be aware of what potentials are available to the Czech Republic, and what possibilities emigres have. I trust that, in this way, we will reach a relationship of mutual support and cooperation.

Sincerely,
Vaclav Klaus

CR, Canada Attempting To Revitalize Trade

94CH0356C Prague PRAGUE POST in English 13-19 Jul 94 p 6

[Article by Keith Damsell: "Canadians and Czechs Aim To Put Bilateral Trade Back on Track"]

[Text] After a 20 percent drop in exports from the Czech Republic [CR] to Canada, both sides are concentrating on boosting mutual trade.

The Czech Government dispatched two high-powered ministers to Canada last month—Trade and Industry Minister Vladimir Dlouhy and Agriculture Minister Josef Lux—to promote more trade.

Since 1989, Canadian business has invested more than $70 million in the Czech Republic. The largest single investor is Four Seasons Hotels & Resorts Ltd., which earlier this year announced plans to build a $49 million hotel complex in Prague.

Thanks largely to a contract—recently expired—to mint Czech coins, Canada doubled its exports to the Czech Republic last year, from $46 million in 1992 to $105 million in 1993.

But Czech exports to Canada fell from $50 million in 1992 to $40 million last year, turning the Czech trade surplus of many years into a deficit.

"Our exports declined by $10 million, while our imports skyrocketed," Trade Minister Dlouhy complained, adding that "the first quarter of this year does not look very favorable either."

Dlouhy traveled to Canada last month to discuss the trade imbalance with officials of a number of high-powered Canadian enterprises, including aerospace giant Pratt & Whitney Canada, which has displayed interest in investing in the local aircraft industry.

In addition, Agriculture Minister Lux met with his Canadian counterpart, Ralph Goodal, to lay the groundwork for signing an agreement to allow more trade in foodstuffs by the end of the year. Lux also tried to convince Canada to buy more Zetor tractors.

Locally, Canadian efforts to boost trade are being spearheaded by Otto Jelinek, the Czech-born former Minister of National Revenue in Canada who is now president of the Canadian-Czech Chamber of Commerce.

Jelinek, who runs an international consulting firm, praised the investment efforts of Canadian companies such as auto-parts maker Magna International and restaurant chain Harvey's, but was quick to add, "Is it enough? No. Canadian businesses have got to become more aggressive."

He described investment as "a two-way street" and urged more Czech firms to examine investment opportunities in Canada.

The chamber, which has 500 members in Canada and about 60 in the Czech Republic, last month signed a mutual cooperation agreement with the 1,400-member Confederation of Industry and Trade of the Czech Republic, paving the way for future information exchanges.

"It's a unique matchmaking service for businesses," said Lubomir Novotny, managing director of the new chamber. "We can bring them together, although whether they go to bed is up to them."

The chamber's new offices on Celetna in Prague's Old Town will act as an economic-informational center and help facilitate meetings between Czech and Canadian businesses.

Thanks to the new chamber office, it will be much easier for Czech companies to gain access to the Canadian market and to consider "the potential U.S. market on Canada's doorstep," said Georgina Wyman, managing director of Bata and chamber vice president.

Czech Minister of Economy Karel Dyba also attended the opening of the new headquarters, describing it as a "wonderful meeting place" that will help build business ties between the two countries.

Foreign Ownership No Hindrance for Press

94CH0356B Prague PRAGUE POST in English 13-19 Jul 94 p 3

[Article by Melissa Morrison: "Foreigners Own Majority Share of Czech Press"]

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[Text] Though several Western European countries strictly limit foreign ownership of their media, the Czech Republic is embracing it.

Over half of the Czech press—including the country's two most popular newspapers—is now owned or partially owned by foreign companies, according to the Czech daily TELEGRAF.

But foreign influence over the country's information sources is scarcely an issue. By and large, the government and local media watchers say the money and competition foreigners inject into the industry outweigh any dangers of undue outside influence on the Czech Republic's fledgling democracy.

"The identity of Czech democracy does not rest on the press," said Premysl Cech, managing director of AISA Media, a market-research firm. "Maybe two or three years from now, [we'll find] it was the wrong thing to let foreign companies come into the Czech media. But for now I don't think it's an issue."

That is not the case in France, Portugal and Italy, which are among the Western European countries that limit foreign investment in their media.

Cech said the Czech Government currently regards foreign investment in the media as it does investment in any other industry—and therefore welcomes it.

The financial assistance brought by the outsiders has resulted in deeper and broader news coverage and more attractive newspaper design, said Cech, adding that this has in turn inspired Czech-owned media to improve.

"The quality of all newspapers has risen because there's competition now," he said.

Foreign publishing concerns, like other businesses, have ventured into Czech markets since 1989 to take advantage of emerging opportunities. The most recent case occurred June 25, when the French company Socpresse acquired majority ownership in the company that publishes MLADA FRONTA DNES, the Czech Republic's second-most-read paper.

Socpresse, which publishes the widely read LE FIGARO in its own country, formerly owned 48 percent of the Czech daily.

The parent company of the best-selling Czech newspaper, the tabloid BLESK, is Ringier of Switzerland. Ringier also holds a majority in the former dissident newspaper LIDOVE NOVINY, another daily, and the weekly RESPEKT, among other publications.

The country's regional newspapers are under similar control. Ringier holds 51 percent of MORAVSKOSLEZSKY DEN, and Socpresse partially owns five other regional papers.

But outside of Prague, the holdings of these foreign companies are overshadowed by a German competitor, Passauer Neue Presse, which controls most of the Czech Republic's regional papers.

It was Neue Presse's 27 holdings in Bohemia that prompted the Ministry for Economic Competition last year to propose a law limiting foreign investment in Czech media to a 49 percent share. But neither members of the government nor parliament supported the idea, said ministry spokesman Jaromir Blazke.

The proposal was sparked by the German company's attempt to acquire 11 publications. The ministry forbade the mergers, citing a Czech law prohibiting a company—domestic or foreign—from controlling more than 30 percent of the market in a single region.

However, Blazke said the ministry is unconcerned with increasing foreign ownership of Prague papers because none holds a monopoly over the city's market.

He said the government currently has no plans to propose restrictions on foreign capital. Instead, its current media-related activity is directed toward preparing a draft of a law that would make it easier for a private person to file a libel suit.

The purpose of the proposed legislation, said Blazke, is to update the communist-era libel law and to "protect the public from disinformation."

According to the TELEGRAF article, papers owned solely by Czechs include the left-of-center daily RUDE PRAVO (whose editor in chief holds the majority share), the right-of-center daily CESKY DENIK, PRACE and SVOBODNE SLOVO, as well as TELEGRAF itself.

—Alena Zivnustkova and Tomas Kellner assisted with this article.

Interest in Czech Economic Model Still Growing

94CH0356A Prague PRAGUE POST in English 13-19 Jul 94 p 1

[Article by Tomas Kellner: "Missionaries Preach Czech Privatization to the World"]

[Text] Back in 1990, when the Czechoslovak government announced that it would embark on an unprecedented voucher privatization program, many top economists skeptically arched their eyebrows.

Four years later, the program's apparent success has made its architects into gurus of a sort. Czech privatization experts are sought out around the world as lecturers and, increasingly, as government advisers.

Many other former socialist countries—not only in Central and Eastern Europe but in Africa and Asia as well—are looking to Prague as a beacon in the stormy waters of the transition to market economies. And the "fathers" of Czech privatization miss few opportunities to throw out a lifeline.

At an international economic forum last month in Crans-Montana, Switzerland, Czech Prime Minister

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Vaclav Klaus announced that a mission of Czech privatization experts would be sent to the former Soviet states of Moldova and Georgia, whose governments directly requested Czech advice.

But the missionary work wouldn't stop there, Klaus said, announcing that Armenia and Belarus have also shown interest in the Czech model. Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik, also at the forum, said experts would be sent from Prague to Algeria.

Privatization Minister Jiri Skalicky later announced that an agreement had been reached with Romania. On July 7 and 8, a delegation from Bucharest visited the Czech Republic to discuss plans for the adaptation of coupon privatization and capital-markets schemes and a system for submitting privatization projects.

Ongoing negotiations with Albania also involve plans for the transfer of the Czech privatization model to that country.

Such news is not altogether new—Czech economic advice has been exported for some time.

Last year, Czech experts helped draft Bulgaria's privatization law. Teams of Czech specialists have also visited Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Lithuania to help assess conditions for coupon privatization.

The mission to Bulgaria stands out because that country may adopt the Czech voucher privatization scheme in its entirety. Bulgarian President Zeljo Zelev signed his country's privatization law last month, an event that coincided with a visit by Czech President Vaclav Havel to Sofia. The fact that Havel was accompanied by Skalicky was not lost on the observers.

With so many laboratories to experiment in, the question now concerns how adaptable the Czech transformation method will prove to be.

Martin Stepanek, who helped draft the voucher program, said the application of the Czech model to other countries depends on many factors specific to each country.

"Although the Bulgarian president says he favors the Czech system, its successful implementation depends on many things, such as the political and economical situation," he said.

While Skalicky generally agreed, he stressed that the basic principles of the Czech model can be applied anywhere.

"The principles, which say it is necessary to base economic renewal on the development of private activities and on the basis of the development of plurality in business interests, are principles that are the same in every economy and should help every country," he said.

Stepanek is actively preaching the Czech gospel of privatization. He has been to Bulgaria twice, once on a World Bank mission and once on behalf of the European Union. Along with Czech economist Dusan Triska, who is widely considered one of the main architects of voucher privatization, he also offered advice to the governments of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

Stepanek said many leading international economists, including some at key institutions such as the World Bank, once considered former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's program the best and only true model for privatization.

"A certain number of them did not fully understand the context," he said. "In Britain, the state was looking for possible company owners. In the Czech Republic, the state already had enough owners and it was facing the task of creating a functional capital market."

Stepanek stressed that the stickiest issue lay not in the concept of giving vouchers to the public and selling companies, but in creating a system for the actual use of the vouchers. The designers found a solution to this problem by developing a securities register.

In their Bulgarian mission, Stepanek and his colleagues analyzed the local economy and then recommended that the Bulgarian government fully adopt the Czech model.

Vatjo Rakovski, a spokesman at the Bulgarian Embassy in Prague, said his

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Government Acknowledges Militancy, Intolerance

LD0308154894 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 3 Aug 94

[Text] The Government of the Slovak Republic adopted at its 21st meeting [2 August] a statement on the content of the supplement by the Slovak National Party in the daily SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA on 26 July. It notes that political forces, behind which are concealed, under the pretext of combat for statehood, intolerance and militancy, are a reality in Slovakia.

The government resolutely condemns the attitudes of this kind. It took specific steps to investigate whether the content of the texts published in the aforementioned supplement do not contradict articles of the Criminal Code that specify the ban on the support and promotion of fascism and racism or similar movements.

The government statement goes on to emphasize that the nature of the policy whose ideas are presented by the Slovak National Party in its supplement—moreover they are presented in SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA, which bears the name of our state—could push Slovakia into isolation because they could generate radicalization and intolerance in society. The present situation on the territory of the former Yugoslavia demonstrates what kind of contribution these attitudes have made.

Egyutteles, MOS Electoral Slate Problem

AU0308140694 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 1 Aug 94 p 3

[Commentary by Milan Spanir: "Duray Is Waving a Stick"]

[Text] Whoever wants to beat a dog will find a stick. Egyutteles Chairman Mikulas [Miklos] Duray, a native of Lucenec, has also certainly mastered this truth. That is to say, he has put it into practice more than once, most recently in the case of two of his compatriots, Tibor Kasza from Filakovo and Arpad Schwartz from Tornala.

They are both distinguished mayors. There is a great deal of concrete evidence that, by the strength of their personalities and the natural authority they have gained in their everyday work among the citizens, they have managed to create favorable conditions for coexistence. Although they are ethnic Hungarians, they are also liked by Slovaks. It is never simple in the ethnically mixed south to pass muster as a mayor. Tibor Kasza and Arpad Schwartz have, by means of their work, written their own "credentials."

As we know from the agency report, the Hungarian Civic Party (MOS) has nominated the two mayors as its leaders in Central Slovakia. However, according to Mikulas Duray, it should not have done this. Egyutteles has refused to include these candidates on the joint slate. It is clear from the MOS statement that "Egyutteles is continuing its pressure game against MOS and is starting to conduct screenings."

The reason given by Egyutteles, that in the past the two men had campaigned for another party, may convince those who are not involved. However, this is not the first attack made against these people. Egyutteles did not invite them to the celebrated Komarno assembly. Perhaps it was afraid that their presence would not be in "harmony" with the overall tone of the occasion. It is well known that, during the period before and after Komarno, the "outcasts" expressed their views publicly on the issue of coexistence between Slovaks and Hungarians in South Slovakia and that they always proceeded from specific conditions and factual arguments. Mikulas Duray, however, does not want anything like this. Such people would not help him to concoct the grievances being trumpeted to the rest of the world....

[Bratislava SME in Slovak on 30 July on page 2, under the headline "The Hungarian Civic Party Has Withdrawn its Candidates," carries a 200-word "(r)"-signed report quoting MOS Chairman Laszlo Nagy as having said that "under pressure from its coalition partners, MOS has withdrawn its two 'contentious candidates' from its slate in Central Slovakia." The report also quotes Nagy as saying that, in his opinion, "this involved personal ambitions."]

Road Sign Bill Angers HZDS, Nationalist Deputies

94CH0357A Prague PRAGUE POST in English 13-19 Jul 94 pp 1, 3

[Commentary by Kevin Drew: "Vote in Slovakia a Sign of the Times"]

[Text] Bratislava—An embarrassing blemish on the record of Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik's government was finally removed July 7, when parliament passed a bill allowing bilingual city signs in communities where ethnic minorities make up more than 20 percent of the population.

The law mainly affects towns and villages in southern Slovakia, where most of the country's 600,000 Hungarian-speaking residents live. Ethnic Hungarian politicians, who have waged a vigorous campaign for recognition since 1989, managed to bring the issue of the city's signs to international attention.

The debate over the signs was a political hot potato for more than a year, and passage of the current law was by no means certain. Intense lobbying by the government helped to sway the final vote of 76 deputies in favor to 49 against, with five abstentions and one absence.

Supporters of the new law said it brought Slovakia into line with international norms.

"We did the right thing this time," said Deputy Milan Ftacnik, deputy chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left (SDL), one of the parties in the governing coalition.

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The law also appeared to satisfy the requirements of the two Hungarian parties in parliament, Coexistence and the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (MKDH), which have 14 deputies between them.

"It [the law] acknowledges us and our special role in Slovak society," said Pal Csaky, an MKDH deputy. "We can live with it."

Last month, Hungarian deputies voted against a bill that was different only in that it would not have permitted Hungarian signs to be posted in towns currently named after ethnic Slovak historical figures. That bill was defeated by one vote.

The issue became heated last summer after Slovakia pledged to post bilingual city signs as part of the process of being accepted into the Council of Europe, the continentwide human-rights forum. Not only did the government of then-Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar let the bill fail, but it allowed long-tense relations between the Slovak government and the Hungarian minority to become inflamed.

The most visible example came when the Meciar government repeatedly uprooted homemade Hungarian-language signs in the predominantly Hungarian village of Marcelova in southern Slovakia.

Relations between Bratislava and Budapest also deteriorated but have generally improved since Moravcik came to power in March and the former communists won the Hungarian national elections in June.

Moravcik's coalition came to power with the tacit support of the Hungarian parties. But when the city-sign and other minority-related issues were not addressed, Hungarian leaders began to state publicly that their support for the shaky coalition could not be counted on indefinitely.

Slovakia was ruled by Hungary for 1,000 years prior to 1918, and ethnic affairs tend to provoke great emotion among Slovaks.

In what may prove to be a preview of fall's national elections, deputies from Meciar's Movement for a Democratic Slovakia and their allies in the Slovak National Party (SNS) voted against the sign law and walked out when it was passed.

Jozef Prokes, an SNS deputy and former deputy prime minister in Meciar's government, told journalists that the new law would "erect further barriers between the Slovak nation and ethnic minorities.... I am afraid that the law could also lead to mounting hatred."

As approved, the law states that an ethnic minority group must constitute at least 20 percent of a village's population to qualify for the second-language city marker. The law lists 545 affected communities.

Slovakia's minorities also include Ukrainians, Romanies, Czechs, Ruthenians and Poles.

STV: Sk12,000/Miaute for Election Broadcasts

AU0308144594 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 Jul 94 p 3

[TA SR report: "Thousands for Shots"]

[Text] Bratislava—In connection with the election campaign, Slovak Television [STV] has set a minimum charge of 12,000 korunas [Sk] per minute of broadcasting time. Distribution, production, the time when the broadcast is aired, and the actual airing of the campaign shots are included in this charge. The charge per minute will be determined in advance, based on an agreement concluded before 31 August, because STV wants to avoid the situation that arose after the election campaign two years ago when some parties and movements did not pay STV for their broadcasts. The order in which STV will air the parties and movements' broadcasts will be drawn by lot at the beginning of September. The rate per second of broadcasting time on Slovak Radio has been fixed in relation to the rate per minute on STV.

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Official Describes Army's Financial Situation

AU0308145194 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 3 Aug 94 pp 1, 4

[Excerpt] Major General Karoly Janza, deputy state secretary at the Defense Ministry, will be responsible for the ministry's economic and financial matters in the future. He is taking over this position at a time when defense's lack of resources and almost catastrophic situation is an everyday topic of conversations.

We asked Janza if they are painting too gloomy a picture just to do better—or not so badly—in the debate of the supplementary budget; for example, so that the 7.7 billion forints that are in the financial package are not taken away from them. Janza said: On the contrary, the real situation is even worse. The Army is using some 50 percent of the 1990 budget at real value, and it might reach the end of its ability to operate. The ministry's budget presumes, among other things, many billions of forints as the Army's own income but a large part of this is impossible to acquire: No one wants to buy decommissioned military hardware or properties. For example, the budget simply ignores the significant infrastructural demands of the MiG-29's, which amount to billions of forints: These amounts have to be raised by cutting other items in the ministry's budget. The amount of unpaid Army expenditure is already above 600 million forints. Based on the situation, the ministry can expect as much as 10 billion forints of deficit.

The ministry's deficit can be reduced to 4 billion-4.5 billion [currency not specified], and another 2 billion can be saved by postponing essential renewals and purchase of equipment. Expenditure can be lessened by reducing the number of exercises (although that has a negative effect on the ability to deploy troops) and the number of conscripts. However, even after taking the most drastic measures, we still need some 3.5 billion more to maintain the Army's ability to function. If the financial government cuts the amount that is necessary for defense, the situation will be as if the Army did not receive any money at all for supplies, wages, or fuel for a month.

Janza does not deny that the situation that he found is worse than he had expected. In his view, in the past four years, the ministry's leadership did not prepare for crisis management; in fact, it took measures whose economic rationality are open to question. One of these was the introduction of domestic pilot training owing to the number of pilots needed, and certain restructuring. The Army is guarding more than 100 empty facilities at the moment, which costs some 180 million-200 million forints a year. In Janza's view, the previous leadership paid too much attention to clothing. As he said: It is important to preserve tradition, but practical and comfortable clothing is more important. Therefore, this is what we need, rather than "the pelisse with metal buttons" [traditional Hungarian army uniform]. [passage omitted]

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Uprising Commemoration Opens 'New Stage' in Ties

WS0308123894 Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish 3 Aug 94 p 2

[Article by E.W.: "Beginning of a New Chapter; Uprising Commemoration—The Most Important Event of 1994"]

[Excerpt] *The commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising is the most important events of this year in Poland's foreign relations, said Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski on Tuesday. In his view, the visit by German President Roman Herzog opens up a new stage of Polish-German relations. Olechowski also called the speech made by the chief of administration of the Russian Federation at the Warsaw Uprising Monument on Monday a wasted opportunity to improve our country's relations with Russia.*

The German president said on Monday at Krasinskis Square in Warsaw: I bow my head before the combatants of the Warsaw Uprising and also in front of all Polish victims of the war. I am asking for your forgiveness for everything the Germans did to them. In the view of the Polish foreign minister, Herzog's speech was the third major event in the course of Polish-German reconciliation, after the Polish bishops' letter of 1965, and the gesture made by German Chancellor Willy Brandt before the Ghetto Heroes Monument in 1970. Olechowski said it is also Herzog's view that reconciliation and agreements between the two countries should be taking place within the framework of the European Union. We will remember Roman Herzog's speech, just as we will not remember Sergey Filatov's speech, Olechowski said. In his view, the speech by the special envoy of President Yeltsin lacked an understanding of how Polish people feel about the Warsaw Uprising. The uprising was treated in the speech as just another battle of World War II. The speech was a tribute to those who died, but it lacked an understanding of the uprising's political and moral significance, Olechowski stated. He also voiced the reminder that Russia was invited to take part in the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the uprising as a member of the Grand Coalition.

Sergey Filatov was a guest of Lech Walesa and Waldemar Pawlak on Tuesday. After the meeting with the president, during which he gave Walesa a letter from President Yeltsin, Walesa expressed the view that the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the uprising, with the participation of the Russian delegation, is the final stage of the era of settling accounts, and it begins a period of cooperation between the two countries. That was our plan, Walesa admitted. He also added, however, that not everything has been cleared up between Poland and Russia. Some things must still be addressed, but they are not the first order of importance. The future and the best possible relations between our two countries—that is what is the first order of importance, Walesa explained. Bilateral economic relations were discussed during the Filatov-Pawlak meeting. According to the Government's Press Office, the conversation centered on the intensification of cooperation in the fishing, oil, natural gas, and defense industries, as well as in the banking sector.

The invitation issued to the Russian delegation, as well as President Walesa's speech during the main celebration, were oriented toward the future, said Filatov after laying a wreath at the Cemetery of Soviet Soldiers in Warsaw. In Filatov's view, this will make it possible for both countries to effectively move forward. The chief of the administration of the Russian president also expressed the view that cooperation between Russia and Poland should be close, but it should be based on new principles. We should never lose the ties that existed in the past, but, at the same time, we should develop new ones, Filatov stressed. He added that the greatest importance was attached by both sides during the talks, to cooperation in politics and defense. [passage omitted]

Walesa's Presidency, Political Scene Viewed

WS0308130094 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 3 Aug 94 p 9

[Article by Roman Graczyk under the "Opinions" rubric: "Democracy With No Character"]

[Text] *Pilsudski created the "sanacja" regime [Pilsudsk, s followers after 1926]. De Gaulle created his Gaullist party. Now, what is Walesism? It is everything. And nothing, at the same time. Walesa is ceasing to be the most important aspect of Polish politics, writes Roman Graczyk.*

The Polish political class suffers from an aversion to clear divisions. There are very few people who would be willing to admit, especially in the aftermath of 19 September [1993], that the creation of a coherent and clearly defined governmental camp is in the long-term interest of both democracy and the state, and of the opposition, as well. We should keep in mind that, after all, without clear division lines or a clear political offer, there is no democracy that would be worthy of the name. The existence of a strong authority camp leads to the establishment of a strong and coherent opposition. Only if there is a real political alternative, a change of governmental teams through ballots means a change not of people but of programs.

I would say the second reason the division lines on the political scene are being blurred is that there is this tendency to favor one's political party at any cost, in the sense that Jozef Pilsudski talked about. Our political class is full of people who fulfill their "missions" entirely through various types of behind-the-scenes games at the Sejm. It was a similar case at the beginning of the Second Polish Republic era—that is, during the time of "politics behind closed doors," when governments were established and brought down through internal snags and games, while election results were regarded as more or less irrelevant. As all of us are aware, the obvious impotence of the parliamentary democracy of the time

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ended up in authoritarian rules, of which the Brzeg trial [not further identified] remains an ominous symbol.

The point is, however, that a genuinely democratic politician should not feel insulted by the fact that elections mean a victory for some people and a defeat for others, even if he has found himself in the "loser camp." Such a politician must come to terms with the fact that there is simply a camp of the authorities and a camp of the opposition, while it is the voters, and not party headquarters, that determine who is in power at any given time.

The Blurring of Division Lines

When Lech Walesa was elected president of the Republic of Poland on 9 December 1990, his supporters were thrilled and declared that a new era was beginning in Polish politics. From that day on, the past was to be separated from the future once and for all, good was to be separated from evil, and the Polish People's Republic [PRL] from the Third Republic.

We know now that these were just meaningless declarations that were not based on real reasons or factors. Walesa's entire program, which was targeted against the "disastrous" policies of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's team, boiled down to slogans like "The president with an axe," "Warsaw needs 'fresh air,'" and "100 million zlotys for everybody." Hope for a radical improvement did not come true; it could not.

Still, many observers who were not necessarily Walesa enthusiasts were saying back then that the new president would become the center for making the political scene clear, for better or for worse.

Political-science literature states that the election of a head of state of a country through popular elections is a factor contributing to polarization. So it follows that the election of someone as "colorful" as Lech Walesa should be such a factor for polarization, by all means. So it was rational to assume that, beginning with Walesa's election, political life in Poland would begin to run basically according to the criterion of one's position on the newly elected president. It was also rational to assume that two political camps would be set up as a result, using the two that existed during the election campaign as a model: Walesa's supporters and his opponents. That, however, was not what really happened.

"Neutral" Meaning "With No Character"

Walesa decide to follow the option of having a strong political basis in the President's Office. He introduced strong personalities into the office—among others, Jacek Merkel and Jaroslaw and Lech Kaczynski—who were the leaders of the election headquarters from the time of the presidential campaign and who were mostly members of Center Accord.

The opposition, which was centered back then around the Democratic Union [UD], which was just emerging, was trying to tell Walesa that the President's Office should in fact be apolitical in nature if Poland is to remain a democratic country. Walesa without political backing, however, was bound to become useless because he could not have done anything more than repeat slogans like "The president with an axe."

From a political perspective, the staff change at the President's Office meant that the murky slogans declared during the election campaign would never be materialized. And that was exactly what happened. That is why Walesa can now say that "the democratic system did not allow him" to implement a few lifesaving ideas like the "100 million zlotys for everybody," for instance. Had Walesa had a political apparatus at his service, he would have had to either cancel some of these slogans or begin implementing them. He would simply have to be politically understandable.

The apolitical President's Office was the first step in the direction of an apolitical post of president, except that the problem at the time was that the concept of an apolitical president was not a particularly well-thought-through idea. Through the "war at the top," the "contract Sejm" became politically incapable of coming up with any kind of government whatsoever. That is when it became necessary to use Walesa's reputation as the sole basis for the establishment of a new cabinet. That is why the political neutralization of the president's post lead to a weakening of the state at the time.

A Zero-Sum Game

Without a doubt, this degradation of the presidential post was taking place against Walesa's intentions. He tried many times to impose his concept of a strong presidency. So far, he has not been particularly successful.

During the debate on the Small Constitution, the Belweder came up in 1992 with its own draft, which was based on the concept of an "all-power-to-the-president" type of regime, under which the president would appoint and dismiss any cabinet purely at his own discretion. The parliament of the first term, however, chose a compromise solution, so one can say that, in leaving fewer powers in the hands of the president, the Polish Republic's Small Constitution is a less radical form of the Constitution of the Fifth French Republic. Walesa got involved in a war in the present parliament, with the coalition made up of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], over the form of the constitution. It is hard to say who the winner will be. For the moment, the president lost the battle over the mode for adopting the constitution.

Walesa scored equally poorly in the political area. When reading many press commentaries, one could get the feeling that the president has really mastered what he does: He maneuvered somebody out, he ambushed somebody else, and he even managed to win somebody over for himself, who, up to now, used to be in the camp

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of his opponents. Perhaps that is a correct impression. The problem is, however, that the tactic is terribly shortsighted. It seems to me that the following question is more important than the win-or-lose score in these political games: Has Walesa managed to create his own political image since he began acting on his own (after 1991)? In my view, he has not. And another question: Could Walesa possibly become a center for polarization trends on the political scene in the future? This does not seem very likely, either.

What is Walesa's position on many fundamental issues of the democratic Poland? What is his view on the Balcerowicz plan? He attacked Balcerowicz very severely in the 1990 campaign. After his victory, he designated Jan Krzyszof Bielecki, a liberal, for the post of prime minister. Then he set up an advisory team attached to the prime minister, which launched a campaign of total criticism of Balcerowicz. Then, Walesa eventually rejected the team's suggestions.

What is Walesa's position on the issue of participation of the postcommunists in political life after 1989? First, when he was still "Solidarity" chairman, he reactivated the "left pillar." Then, acting as a presidential candidate, he demanded that the anticommunist revolution be finalized. When he finally became president, he began promoting politicians deriving from the left-wing camp—like Wieslawa Ziolkowska, for instance. On the eve of the 1991 parliamentary elections, he tried to use the return of communist policies as a threat.

What is Walesa's position on values for the defense of which he received the Nobel Peace Prize? The answer is not an easy one when you recall that Walesa not only used to be the leader of an antitotalitarian social movement but that he also applied anti-Semitic slogans against his opponents during the 1990 election campaign. You should also keep in mind, when trying to answer the above question, that he not only protested against Macierewicz's file-checking policies but also set Zdzislaw Najder up. Also, keep in mind that Walesa, a moral authority for the men of the underground, discredited Major Adam Hodysz as a "traitor," and he did the same with Bogdan Borusewicz, whom he described as "cooperating with secret services." Who actually is Walesa? What kinds of values does he profess?

Is it possible to predict how he will act on various current issues? The positions he takes are frequently so enigmatic that even skillful journalists have problems finding the right words. What was the president's position on the spring strike by the miners? What was his position on the state budget, which he finally signed but with the weird proviso that it not implement the preelection promises of the coalition, with which, after all, Walesa has been in a dispute?

One thing seems sure: Walesa is persistently "in favor or even against" [reference to Walesa saying]. The way he has been acting is as though he believes himself to be the pivotal part of Polish politics.

In fact, however, he never presented any kind of coherent political program. He has no camp of his own. The coalitioners of 1990 are currently very far removed from Walesa, to put it mildly, while the attempt to use the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms also backfired. While competing with various governments that come and go, the president involves himself in destroying rather than in building democracy. He comes up with weird, half-baked ideas, after which, while not being able to implement them, he accuses both the government and the parliament of "blocking" his initiatives. All in all, even with all the political cleverness, it really is a zero-sum game.

The electorate's reaction is quite symptomatic in that regard. A March poll by the Center for Research on Public Opinion says that Walesa enjoys the confidence of only every fourth Pole, which is less than the Army, television, the civic rights spokesman, the church, the police, state-owned banks, the government, the Sejm, the Senate, "Solidarity," and the All-Polish Trade Unions Agreement. People who were polled a month later say that General Jaruzelski made a better president than Walesa. According to a poll by the Public Opinion Research Center conducted in the second half of May, just 6 percent of the Polish people regard Walesa as the appropriate candidate for president of Poland.

Walesa is gradually ceasing to be the most important aspect of the Polish political scene or someone who shapes the political landscape.

Far Removed From de Gaulle

We know situations throughout history when individuals dominated political parties or groups. It was not the "sanacja" camp that brought Pilsudski to the surface; it was the other way around. By the same token, it was not the Gaullist part that shaped de Gaulle; again, it was the other way around.

There is one thing Walesa has in common with both Pilsudski and the chief of Free France: All three men, before receiving a mandate to be in power through elections by the citizens, already had the mandate by virtue of history itself. All three were men of public trust at some point. There is nothing and nobody that could take that away from Walesa. There is, however, a difference between the two foreign presidents and Walesa. They had a comprehensive vision of the respective states they were in charge of. Unlike Walesa, they knew what they wanted for their own motherlands. They understood that there is something much more to politics than just being an instrument serving somebody to remain in power, whereas Walesa seems to reduce the entire political activity to just this one goal.

De Gaulle went beyond Gaullism but not to an extent that would make it impossible to define Gaullism as a clearly defined and unique political doctrine. It was the same with Pilsudski. Even given all of the deviations

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from his main political strategies, there still remains a certain fundamental collection of Pilsudski's ideas.

Now, what does Walesaism mean? Everything. And nothing. There is surely a Walesa in the Polish political landscape, but there is definitely no Walesaism.

The Losers' Fear

The Polish people wasted the chance created by postelection polarization of the political scene twice—after 9 December 1990 and after 19 September 1993. In every case, the losers' fear was the impeding factor. First, there was the fear that the ill-mannered Walesa would destroy Mazowiecki's legacy, while, the second time around, it was the fear that the SLD-PSL coalition—that is to say, the "comrades" from the PRL era—would destroy the entire legacy of the four years of "Solidarity" rule. Regardless of to what extent the fears were justified, one must admit that it was also a fear against recognizing election results.

When Tadeusz Mazowiecki, faced with his defeat in the presidential elections, announced on 25 November 1990 his resignation from the post of prime minister and the creation of a political party that would be in opposition vis-a-vis the victorious camp, it was a gesture worthy of a democratic politician. Unfortunately, the gesture was not followed by subsequent ones, and, instead, the tactics of making the division lines blurred prevailed.

The opposition is having a very hard time drawing conclusions from the 19 September defeat. The issue, however, seems so straightforward. As a result of the elections, one of the poles was formed that was taken over by the governing majority. What the opposition should do is just join the logic of democracy that has already been set in motion by establishing an alternative pole of its own. From that perspective, the merger between UD and the Liberal-Democratic Congress, as well as the various coalitions of center-right-wing parties, seems a step in the right direction, but the fact remains that the step is being taken overly cautiously. From that standpoint, the opposition's capability to designate a joint candidate to run in next year's presidential elections will be a genuine test of maturity.

In the meantime, without a polarization, there is no clearly defined political scene. Without a clear political scene, in turn, there are no clear electoral offers. Without such electoral offers, in turn, there is no exchange of governing teams, without which democracy loses its character. And, in a way, it also loses its sense.

PSL Opposition Backing Zych for President

WS0408095294 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 4 Aug 94 p 3

[Article by Wojciech Zaluska: "Pawlak's Troubles; Opposition Within PSL Attacks Again"]

[Text] The opposition in the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] wants Deputy Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych to be the peasants' representative in the presidential election.

"Next week we will try to win the PSL Chief Council over to this candidacy," we were told yesterday by Deputy Janusz Piechocinski.

Governing and Liver'ng Up

The oppositionists do not believe that Pawlak could be successful in the election. They recall the results of opinion polls conducted by Demoskop. The prime minister is lagging far behind Democratic Left Alliance leader Aleksander Kwasniewski. He is losing popularity in the countryside as well. Peasants express increasing criticism of Pawlak during their meetings with deputies.

The opposition hopes that Zych's election campaign will change the image of the party and liven up its structures. "When Pawlak went to the government, PSL activity in the regions came to a practical standstill. Its activists are leaving the party. If this situation continues, only ministers will stay in the PSL," says Piechocinski.

His suggestion: Pawlak and his ministers should deal with governing, and the other leaders should be in charge of the party.

Strak Without a Function?

Before the summer vacation, PSL Club Deputy Chairman Roman Jagielinski said that, in August, the opposition will try to force a resolution that would ban the merging of party functions with those of the government. It will be the second such attempt. The first one was blocked by the prime minister (in January). Today, however, he must also deal with the frustration of activists, which works against him. Some Sejm deputies and the "regions" blame the Pawlak-Strak team for the defeat in the self-governmental elections. If the opposition wins, two people will lose their party functions: Michal Strak, head of the Office of the Council of Ministers, and Foreign Economic Cooperation Minister Leslaw Podkanski.

Two centers of power will be established in PSL. The first one will be headed by the prime minister, the other by Deputy Sejm Speaker Zych and Sejm Deputies Jagielinski and Piechocinski.

'Crisis,' Split Within KPN Analyzed

WS0408104594 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Aug 94 p 4

[Article by Piotr Zaremba under the "Analysis" rubric: "Could a Different KPN Survive at All?"]

[Text] The quick erosion of the parliamentary delegation of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] brings very much to mind the fate of the parliamentary club of Center Accord [PC] in the previous Sejm. In the years 1992-93, the PC, which was a "real riot" at

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parliament sessions in the beginning, ultimately lost half of its Sejm deputies. KPN members lost one-fourth of their parliamentary representatives over a period of nine months, and their delegation was not very large to begin with.

There are, however, some differences between the two parties. Whatever one could say about the human reasons behind the collapse of the PC parliamentary club (personal ambition, an unwillingness on the part of certain members to remain in the opposition), the different splits and breakups were taking place in the midst of dramatic events. The dispute over the assessment of Olszewski's government or over the position that should be taken on Suchocka's government was the reason for the departure of "the unbroken" (supporters of Jan Olszewski) and the "pragmatics" (Andrzej Urbanski's group). Moreover, the PC acted under environmental pressures. The parties that supported Suchocka made it their goal to set the PC at odds with some of those politicians who exerted all kinds of pressure on the parties.

The KPN club, on the other hand, is acting in a vacuum. Nobody is trying to win over the votes of its Sejm deputies (nobody needs such votes), so the reasons for the crisis are solely within the party itself.

[KPN Chairman] Leszek Moczulski, who has been bothered by the situation even though he has been trying to "look and sound tough," is partially correct when he says that the efforts to make changes in the party result from frustrations felt by former and also by would-be Sejm deputies. When the president's decision on dissolving the Sejm was announced at the end of May 1993, KPN Sejm deputies were the only ones to applaud. Even those who eventually won—members of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]—did not say anything at the time. They were afraid of what the future might bring.

The strategy of the KPN club, which was 50-members strong at the time, was based on a persistent rejection of the party's participation in parliamentary arrangements. The main motto of every political statement made by KPN members in Olszewski's and Suchocka's time, was this: "This Sejm must go." KPN members constituted the same kind of "black hole" as communists and nationalistic activists did in the Weimar Republic.

The KPN leadership wanted to achieve two objectives. First, the next elections, to take place before the economic successes of "Solidarity" governments, were to be the prescription for quick success. There was, however, another reason behind the strategy: KPN members portrayed themselves as opponents of both types of elites—the post-Polish People's Republic [PRL] one, and the "Solidarity" one. According to them, all of the governments, even including Olszewski's, were just implementing modified economic policies of the communist government of Rakowski. With that kind of rhetoric, the KPN hoped to win over a broad-based electorate, especially young people.

This, however, was associated with some repercussions. While hoping for the establishment of a new platform of divisions, the KPN did not want to join the division into the postcommunist camp and the anticommunist one. As early as the end of the previous Sejm term, the KPN club submitted a radical draft law "on the restitution of independence" but, subsequently, the club invoked social radicalism more gladly than it did anti-PRL emotions. At the same time, Moczulski's reputation must have been hurt in the eyes of the anticommunist segment of the electorate, by his name having been included on Macierewicz's list. The bitterness was complete when the KPN chairman was forcibly driven away from a demonstration organized by the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarity" (that happened after the most recent elections). As it turned out, it is hard to be a fighter for independence while trying to sever all ties to the "Solidarity" tradition.

It would be an oversimplification to make the contention that all those who are yearning for social protection voted for the SLD and the Union of Labor [UP] on 19 September [1993], while all those who dislike the communists voted for the PC, "Motherland," the Movement for the Republic, and "Solidarity." A definitive party image, as well as clear noninvolvement in various "schemes," resulted in the KPN's receiving over 5 percent of the vote (it was over 9 percent in 1991).

After the September 1993 elections, however, there occurred something akin to inertia. The very small KPN parliamentary club adapted itself to the colorless and "substantive" style of the new Sejm, which is quite contrary to the party's nature. Moczulski's candidacy for president of Poland seems stranger today than ever before; there are serious doubts as to whether the KPN chairman could possibly gain any votes other than those from the very core of his own party.

Moreover, the recent self-governmental elections confirmed the reinstatement—which could be temporary but it is surely salient—of the division of the political scene into the postcommunists on the one hand and heirs to the "Solidarity" camp on the other. The KPN had refused to join the division completely, so the voters decided to turn their backs on the party. KPN members were persecuted even in cases where they were included in right-wing coalitions. Warsaw is a good example; even with the not-so-bad score by two right-wing blocs, all the KPN managed to gain was one seat (on the "Right Wing Together" ticket). The party's heavy involvement in promoting the idea of a file-checking law [ustawa lustracyjna] or the defense of the Concordat did not help, either.

I think Moczulski's opponents have drawn the right conclusions from the new situation. They want the KPN to position itself within a wider, right-wing bloc. At the moment, the party's situation is almost a classic case of a "split" position. After all, we must keep in mind that, at the beginning of this year, the KPN chief spoke out on

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his vision of a new coalition that would comprise the PSL, UP, and the left wing of the SLD, which was supposed to take over power, based on KPN votes, and, at the same time, push the SLD "liberals" out of the picture altogether. Also, there was unofficial talk in the Sejm that members of the Polish Socialist Party counted on the support of some KPN activists who were supposed to be the core of a new left wing, along with the frustrated part of the All-Polish Trade Unions Agreement.

The KPN apparatus, which continues to be quite well organized, faces the following dilemma: From which position is it best to be fighting the postcommunists—a procapitalist one or the extreme radical one, which was applied up to now and which is based on never-ending increases in the size of the budget deficit? Also, the place of the anticommunist left wing is increasingly being taken over by "Solidarity" and its constitutional campaign. On the other hand, the opposition within the KPN is fed up with the party's "unique nature," based on ironclad discipline and the chairman's untouchable prestige.

The only problem is this: Could the KPN possibly survive if it were to be deprived of its radicalism and style, which centered so much around "the chief"?

Draft Law on 'Special Economic Zones' Adopted

WS0408080694 Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish 4 Aug 94 p 2

[Article by SA: "It Is Not a Cure-All for All Problems; Special Economic Zones After the New Year"]

[Text] *After debates lasting over a year, the Council of Ministers has adopted a draft law on the conditions and principles for establishing special economic zones [SSE]. The Sejm will soon debate the draft law during urgent proceedings. If everything goes as planned, SSE's will be established after the New Year.*

SSE's are not a cure-all for all economic problems. They will constitute just one type of mechanism that is supposed to be an incentive to investors, warned Industry and Trade Minister Marek Pol.

The draft law on SSE's in Poland envisions that special treatment and tax concessions, which will be granted to economic units operating in such areas, shall be established individually for specific enterprises. Complete waivers from income tax will be granted for a period that will be half the time for which an SSE will be established, while partial income tax waivers—that is, up to 50 percent—are envisioned in the remaining period of operation of an SSE. To cite this example: If an investor declares his willingness to conduct activity for a period of 10 years, and if he decides to invest no less than 2 million ECU's, that investor has an opportunity to use the statutory preferences—a complete waiver for five years, followed by a partial waiver for an additional five years.

Income tax breaks are not the only element that is supposed to attract investors. The draft law envisions waivers with regard to the real estate tax, as well as procedural concessions in the leasing or purchasing of real estate. The possibility of establishing free customs areas on the territory of SSE's will also be of some importance. It is precisely with those areas in mind that a draft law from a year ago envisioned so-called green paths, meaning the possibility of conducting customs clearances solely on the basis of written documents (without actually checking cargoes.) The current draft law approved by the Council of Ministers no longer envisions such a possibility. As Edward Nowak, deputy industry and trade minister, assured NOWA EUROPA, however, his ministry will conduct talks on the issue with the Foreign Economic Cooperation Ministry once the SSE's are established. It is also worth stressing here that grants to be set up from labor funds, for the sake of firms hiring previously unemployed people, were also deleted from the initial draft law.

The SSE's are to be managed by people appointed by the Council of Ministers. SSE's themselves and the scope of their operations are also to be determined by the Council of Ministers. It is also being assumed that the people's activities will be conducted on a nonprofit [preceding word published in English] basis. Contrary to a manager appointed by superior authorities, firms that would show interest in conducting activity in the SSE's will be determined through auctions.

The interest being shown in SSE's is great, Minister Nowak stated. Economic efficiency will be the only factor shaping decisions to establish such zones. The zones will, by definition, be formed in uninhabited areas, so it will not be possible to force somebody to establish an SSE through strike actions, Nowak warned.

[Box, p 2]

There are approximately 500 SSE's in operation around the world, employing over 4 million people. The greatest number, about 200, are operating in the United States, but successful SSE's have also been set up in China, Hungary, and, recently, the former USSR (Brest, Kaliningrad). According to experts, SSE's are a real "hit" that have developed over the past 20 years. They contribute to economic recovery, enliven foreign trade, and facilitate the transfer of scientific and technological advances.

'Definite Majority' Views Economy as Poor

WS0408091094 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Aug 94 p 5

[Article by NIKA: "OBOP—Social Moods; Even Though Situation Is Bad, It Could Be Worse"]

[Text] *The moods among people are now bad, and the changes in the country are not going in the right direction, say respondents to a poll conducted by the Center for*

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Research on Public Opinion [OBOP]. A definite majority believes that the economic situation in the country is bad.

Seventy-two percent of Poles believe the moods among the people are bad; only every fifth respondent expresses an opposite opinion.

Asked about the general situation in the country, every second respondent expresses the conviction that the changes in Poland are going in the wrong direction. Less frequent are statements by people who are satisfied with the direction in which things are going in the country (31 percent). Eighteen percent of respondents do not have an opinion on this issue.

Positive opinions are expressed more often by people declaring center-left views; people with definitely leftist views are much more critical. Men are generally more satisfied with the development of the situation than women. People with better material conditions and better education express positive opinions more frequently than others.

We do not really evaluate the economic situation of our country as being good. Even though 50 percent of Poles believe that the situation is neither good nor bad, opinions that it is bad (38 percent) are five times as frequent as opinions that the economy is in good shape (8 percent). Positive opinions are more frequent if the material conditions of the respondents are good, just as in the case of the evaluation of the overall situation in the country. Peasants are the most critical.

The evaluation of the direction of changes in the country's economic situation is slightly better. Even though 48 percent of respondents say the situation has recently not been changing and 28 percent that it has been deteriorating, every fifth respondent can see an improvement here. Forecasts concerning Poles' material situation appear relatively good. Even though most frequent are opinions that, over the next three years, material conditions will deteriorate (34 percent), there are already 28 percent of optimists who predict an improvement in the situation. Thirty-one percent of Poles are convinced that the situation will be more or less the same as it is now.

* * *

The poll was conducted by OBOP between 15 and 19 July of this year on a representative sample of 966 Poles over age 16.

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Spokesman Salutes Belgrade for Bosnian Stand

AU0308204494 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 3 Aug 94

[Statement made by Mircea Geoana, spokesman of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs; in Bucharest on 3 August—recorded]

[Text] Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs continues to watch, with special attention, the efforts by the international community to settle politically the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Recently those efforts have resulted in a new peace plan elaborated by the Contact Group, a plan that was examined during the 31 July conference of the foreign affairs ministers in Geneva.

The Romanian party salutes the statements made by the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which plead for the acceptance of the proposal of that international committee and for the further facilitation of the peace process.

The Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs expresses its hope that, at the next session of the Pale Assembly, realism and the desire for understanding and peace will prevail.

The possible rejection of the peace plan would lead to an increase of the tension in Bosnia-Herzegovina and to the adoption of new measures, including the strengthening of the sanctions imposed on Yugoslavia, which—besides other states in the region—would also directly affect Romania.

Popescu Addresses Miners; Hunger Strike Continues

AU0308123794 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 3 Aug 94

[Excerpts] Here is a new dispatch from our correspondent Cornel Sorescu, who reports from Targu Jiu on the demonstrations organized by the strikers of the Rovinari Mining Trade Union Federation.

[Begin Sorescu recording] Esteemed listeners, a short while ago Mr. Dumitru Popescu, the minister of industry, arrived in the Central Square of the Targu Jiu municipality, which is filled with strikers from the mines of the Autonomous Pitcoal Corporation. At the request of Mr. Marin Condescu, president of the Mining Trade Union Confederation, the minister addressed the strikers and told them that he has a mandate to negotiate with them on ending the labor conflict. He told the miners that he received his mandate from the prime minister. [passage omitted]

The rally was then addressed by Mr. Miron Cosma [president of the Confederation of Mining Trade Unions], who appealed for miners' unity throughout the country.

At this time, more than 20,000 miners are waiting in the square in front of the of the Autonomous Pitcoal Corporation for the results of the negotiations to be held in the presence of Minister Dumitru Popescu. [end recording]

The hunger strike declared by 11 miners and trade union leaders is continuing in front of the Autonomous Copper Corporation in Deva and the phenomenon of the miners' blocking themselves underground has escalated in certain mining sectors. If there were only 800 miners left underground yesterday at the end of all the shifts, their number today has reached almost 2,000, apart from those on day shift. Other mining collectives have also expressed solidarity with the miners. We have also learned that the underground blocking phenomenon has extended from the Teliuc, Delari, and Deva mines to Baia de Aries and Moldova Noua mines, as a result of the deadlock reached in the talks between the trade unions of the Copper Corporation and the management board.

Despite the claims, labor action, and the blocking phenomenon in the corporation's subunits, extraction is proceeding at levels typical of each beginning of the month. Underground, security and labor protection conditions are adequate thus far. [passage omitted]

Today the corporation's Management Board will examine the financial resources available and will also explore other ways and means to solve the demands of the strikers. Many of the solutions proposed were included in a program to be submitted to the industry minister's analysis group for discussion. He is expected to arrive in Deva tomorrow. [passage omitted]

A few minutes ago, our correspondent reported that seven trade union leaders started a hunger strike at the Baia de Aries mine today and that another man joined the 11 miners and trade union leaders already on hunger strike.

Protocol Signed, Mines Blocked

AU0308185394 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 3 Aug 94

[Text] A short while ago, in the square in the center of Targu Jiu municipality, the striking miners were presented with the stipulations of the protocol concluded following today's negotiations with the representatives of the strikers. The negotiations were also attended by Industry Minister Dumitru Popescu.

The strikers agreed to the majority of the established points and thus only two claims remain to be renegotiated, namely the dismissal of Radu Mironovici, the general director of the Autonomous Pitcoal Corporation, and an increase in the bonus granted on the occasion of Miners' Day, which initially had been set at 75,000 lei for each person. The delegation of the representatives of the strikers will present the result of those

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talks [on the two open issues] to the minister of industry and to the delegation of the corporation, our correspondent reports.

According to data centralized at the Solidarity '92 [miners'] League headquarters, the phenomenon of self-blockage [miners barricading themselves underground] has expanded to over 16 mining extraction units under the administration of the Deva Autonomous Copper Corporation. Some union leaders assess that, currently, as many as 5,000 miners are blocked underground.

According to our correspondent, during last night and this morning, that phenomenon spread like a chain reaction. Parallel to the increase in the number of miners blocked in the mines, it has become increasingly difficult to ensure the necessary quality of their breathing air, which is causing them certain health problems.

As we already informed, an increasing number of persons had to be taken from the mines and transported to physicians or hospitals. There were four such cases in Deva, three at the Poiana Rusca mine, and several others at the Baia de Aries mine.

As far as the health condition of the persons who have gone on hunger strike in the town of Deva is concerned—currently 22 union leaders and miners—five strikers have been transported urgently to the local hospital, one of them being in the resucitation section.

This evening, Miron Cosma, the chairman of the St. Barbara Miners' Christian-Democratic Convention, arrived at the headquarters of the copper corporation in Deva to hold preliminary talks with the union leaders and with the hunger strikers in connection with their demands and the possibilities of settling the labor conflict.

Cosma said that the miners should not stay blocked underground tomorrow, but they should rather gather in front of the corporation headquarters to meet the mediation commission dispatched there by the Ministry of Industry.

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Serbian Assembly Votes for Referendum on Plan

LD0308205194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2033 GMT 3 Aug 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 3 Aug (TANJUG)—Deputies of the Assembly of the Serb republic decided unanimously this evening that the final decision on the international contact group's peace plan would be adopted by the people of the Serb republic in a referendum.

The extraordinary session of the assembly of the Serb republic in Pale closed with this decision.

The explanation of the decision says that the assembly is adhering to the declaration that was sent to the Contact Group prior to the ministerial meeting in Geneva: This requests certain changes to the maps, the specifying of constitutional principles, and guarantees for the lifting of the sanctions against the FRY.

The referendum will probably be held on 27-28 August.

Karadzic: 'We Are Alone'

LD0408091694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0026 GMT 4 Aug 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 3 Aug (TANJUG)—President of the Serb republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] Radovan Karadzic said this evening that acceptance of the Contact Group's peace plan would mean the disappearance of the Serb republic and the republic of Serb Krajina [in Croatia].

Addressing the deputies in the assembly in Pale this evening, Karadzic stressed that if the decision were up to him, he would not accept the plan.

Karadzic said that although "no one in the world wants the Serbs to unite, we will not give up the idea because we know that the people of Serbia want to do it."

According to Karadzic, this historic aim cannot be achieved today, but it will be achieved at some other favorable time.

Commenting on Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's statement and the Serbian Government's letter, Karadzic said that it seems to him that "we have to face the fact that we are alone" and assessed that "the people need to be told clearly that they will no longer enjoy assistance as before, and that perhaps there will not be any."

He stressed that the people of the Serb republic must face the fact "that an embargo will perhaps be imposed against us, that Yugoslavia will perhaps have to do it with a grieving heart, that it will have to or want to accept observers on its border, and that not even a bird will be able to fly across the border, that is, they will have to do to us what others are doing to them."

Recalling that it is totally unjust and unjustified that the sanctions against Yugoslavia were introduced, Karadzic said that they are the consequence of anti-Serbian policy, whereby Serbia should be reduced to its 1912 borders. "We have been postponing the plan for two and a half years. We believe that the plan has fallen through forever and that no one will dare destroy Serbia, unless we allow foreign troops to deploy on the River Drina."

According to Karadzic, the sanctions will not be lifted even if the plan is accepted because, as he said, "we know that all sorts of things were demanded from Serbia."

Affirming that the plan is not being rejected "because half of Bosnia is not enough," he asked: "Which half is it? Can we set up a state, can we be safe and free forever in that half?"

He stressed that the main reason why the plan could not be accepted is because "they want us to remain in Bosnia-Herzegovina" and added that the [Contact Group's] ministers' communique clearly states: "Bosnia-Herzegovina needs to remain one state within which a relationship will be established between the Serb and Muslim-Croat entities."

Karadzic said that "if the people decide to keep their own state, none of us can abandon those people."

According to him, the Serb republic authorities are sticking to their political commitment "not because of hunger for power, but because of all those soldiers who are saying 'Don't you, too, betray us'."

He asked the deputies not to identify, as he said, "this unfortunate letter from the [Serbian] Government with Serbia. Serbia is something different. Even today, after two and a half years, throughout the war, Serbia has been going to bed and waking up thinking about us. We must accept the fact that the Serbian Government is no longer allowed to support and help us, but that does not mean that the words in its letter are the words of the whole of Serbia."

Karadzic stressed: "We must free Yugoslavia from any further responsibility. Let them detach their fate from ours.... We will fight as much as we can. Let them do everything they are asked to and everything they must do, but that does not mean that we can, that we have the right to sacrifice the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina."

Karadzic Comments After Vote

LD0408101994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0856 GMT 4 Aug 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 4 (TANJUG)—President of the Bosnian Serb republic Radovan Karadzic said if the 'Contact Group' maps on the division of the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina were changed, the Bosnian Serb response to the entire plan would be 'yes'.

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'If we do succeed to change the maps before the referendum, then the Serb response could be 'yes'," Karadzic told REUTERS late Wednesday night [3 August], following an extraordinary session of the parliament at Pale, the political center of the Bosnian Serb republic.

The Bosnian Serb parliament decided to invite their people to take a decision on the 'Contact Group' plan at a referendum, to be held on August 27 and 28.

'If we do nothing to change the maps and constitutional arrangements that would guarantee our republic, then I suppose people would say an overwhelming 'no'," Karadzic said.

Spokesman of the Bosnian Serb parliament Momcilo Krajisnik was cited by REUTERS as having said he could not accept the maps such as they were 'because that would be an invitation to suicide for the Serb people.'

Assembly Debate Reported

LD0308200294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1851 GMT 3 Aug 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 3 August (TANJUG)—The assembly of the Serb republic began its session in Pale this evening, during which a final decision on the Contact Group's peace plan for the former Bosnia-Herzegovina should be made.

The session is being attended by 55 out of 82 deputies, a sufficient number for valid decision-making.

The assembly session is open to the public and journalists, and the proceedings are being broadcast on Serb Radio Sarajevo.

At the beginning of the session the stances of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic (his statement to POLITIKA) and yesterday's letter from Mirko Marjanovic, prime minister of the Republic of Serbia, to the leadership of the Serb republic were read out to the deputies.

The statement was read by Banja Luka Deputy Radoslav Brdjanin, while the letter from the Serbian Government was read by Aleksa Buha, Serb republic foreign minister.

The deputies then began a debate.

In the first speeches the deputies expressed their bitterness at the tone and way in which both the president and the prime minister of Serbia had addressed the parliament and the leadership of the Serb republic, as well as their profound disappointment at the ultimatum-like stance coming from Belgrade.

Thus, Banja Luka Deputy Milovan Milanovic recalled "that the Serbs had never accepted anyone's diktat, and they had told others this ages ago."

During the first contributions to the debate it was said that the Contact Group's plan was disadvantageous for the Serbian nation as a whole and that it guarantees neither the integrity nor the sovereignty of the Serb republic.

The conviction was voiced that the sanctions had not been introduced because of the Bosnian Serbs and that their signature [acceptance of the peace plan] would not help lift those sanction. "The pressure and sanctions will end when all 12 million Serbs raise their voices in unision and say where the borders of their state are located," Deputy Brdjanin said.

Replying to assertions that the Serb republic had received guarantees for its sovereignty and borders, Brdjanin said that "guarantees given by Mr. Kozyrev are worthless."

"The people should be told that Kozyrev cannot gaurantee anything; he cannot even provide guarantees to his own people; if he could, he would not bring them to the position of kneeling before America," Brdjanin said. He warned that, while claiming that he had given guarantees to the Serbs, Kozyrev was simultaneously making statements about the preservation of the internationally recognized and unitary Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Milenko Vojnovic of Brcko, as well as the deputies before him, pointed out that the people throughout the Serb republic were disgruntled over the proposed maps, so it would be illusory to expect that a decision for or against could be reached by the leadership on its own.

The prevalent opinion in the first debates, as well as in statements made by Serb republic leaders yesterday and today, was that a decision on the Contact Group's plan ought to be reached by the people at a referendum.

Assembly Responds To Serbian Government's Letter

LD0408125294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1123 GMT 4 Aug 94

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—The assembly of the [Bosnian] Serb republic today expressed their firm belief that if they had accepted the contact group's plan, the Serbs "would for the first time accept the independent state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, grant it legitimacy and give up on their own state."

In response to the letter from the government of the Republic of Serbia, the Serb republic assembly—which ended a session in Pale last night—adds that this would also be "the end of the statehood of the republic of Serb Krajina" and "the end of the peace of mind for the Serbs and Serbia." [passage omitted]

The Serb republic deputies, who called a referendum on the contact group's peace plan for 27 and 28 August, questioned the truthfulness of the international community's promises that the maps, that is, the territorial division, will be discussed further, and cast doubt on the validity of the guarantees for the integrity and sovereignty of the Serb republic.

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"It clearly stems from the [Contact Group's foreign] ministers' communique that the plan should ensure that Bosnia-Herzegovina is one state, and 'a Serbian entity' would exist within that state."

The [Serb republic assembly's] letter to the Serbian Government also proposes the urgent unification of Yugoslavia, the Serb republic and the republic of Serb Krajina, but it also says that the Serbs in Bosnia "fully accept the possibility that Yugoslavia separates its fate from us to save itself..."

The letter by the Serb republic assembly also contains a number of emotional standpoints on the historic relations between the Serbs on the two sides of the River Drina.

Karadzic Invites Izetbegovic for Talks

AU0308121894 Paris AFP in English 1203 GMT 3 Aug 94

[Excerpts] Belgrade, Aug 3 (AFP)—Under increasing international pressure to accept an international peace plan, Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic invited his rival, Alija Izetbegovic, to talks Wednesday [3 August] ahead of a new session of the self-styled Serb parliament.

Karadzic had turned again to his parliament to legitimise his refusal to accept the plan after it was put forward by the international "Contact Group" on Bosnia-Herzegovina last month. [passage omitted]

Belgrade's Radio-Politika reported Wednesday that, apparently stalling for time, Karadzic had invited Bosnian President Izetbegovic to one-on-one talks, to take place wherever he wanted and without the presence of independent mediators.

The invitation was extended by Momcilo Krajisnik, the president of the self-proclaimed Bosnian Serb parliament, during talks between the warring parties at Sarajevo airport Tuesday, the radio said.

The Bosnian Serbs were meanwhile reported to be angered by Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic's decision Sunday to swing behind the peace plan and threaten to withdraw Belgrade's support if they did not fall into line. [passage omitted]

Serb journalist Velibor Gligorijevic told Radio-Politika that deputies of the parliament were "indignant" and "felt betrayed" by Belgrade's decision to join the groups pressuring the Serbs to accept the map drawn up by the international powers.

He said it was possible that the parliament might accept the plan, bhut warned that this would immediately bring about the resignation of the Serb military and political leadership. [passage omitted]

Silajdzic Discusses Aid With Islamic Countries

AU0308190894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 3 Aug 94

[Text] A bilateral meeting [word indistinct] Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic, Egyptian Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa, and the delegation of the Islamic countries' contact group for Bosnia was held in Geneva on 3 August 1994. They discussed the assistance that the Islamic countries can offer to Bosnia in the diplomatic sphere right now.

They also discussed the text of the Islamic countries' resolution, which they will pass at their plenary session tomorrow. Our delegation at this assemblage also met with Secretary General of Islamic countries (Hammed al Gabid). They discussed the final text of the document by the Islamic countries' contact group and various aspects of aid that the Islamic countries can offer to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Akashi Threatens Air Strikes on Serbs

LD0308214094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2001 GMT 3 Aug 94

[Text] New York, August 3 (TANJUG)—Yasushi Akashi has authorized the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) to launch air strikes against Bosnian Serbs if they try to take their heavy weapons from the exclusion zone around Sarajevo, U.N. Spokesman Fred Eckhard said on Wednesday.

There is heavy fighting between Moslem and Serb forces around the town of Vares in central Bosnia. Serbs are exposed to strong Moslem pressure and have asked UNPROFOR to release their heavy weaponry from three collection points in the exclusion zone, he said.

UNPROFOR has categorically denied this request, and UNPROFOR Commander for Bosnia General Michael Rose has threatened that he will oppose any attempts to seize the weapons by force, Eckhard said.

Special United Nations envoy for former Yugoslavia Akashi authorized air strikes in case there were attempts to seize the weapons by force, he said.

Serbs have not tried to do this so far, but the situation remains very tense, Eckhard said.

Rose: UNPROFOR To Leave Within 3 Months

BR0408065194 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 3 Aug 94 p 11

[Article by Anna Cataldi, UNICEF consultant in Sarajevo: "Sarajevo Abandoned: The Blue Helmets Leave"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] "This morning [UN Secretary General] Butrus-Ghali told me that within three months the United Nations must leave Bosnia. Everyone, down to the last man." In the drawing room of the "Residence," General Michael Rose, UN commander in chief in Sarajevo, speaks with optimism. In his view, the secretary general's decision will produce good results because it will force the opposing sides meeting in Geneva with the Contact Group to finally reach a peace accord. It is Tuesday 26 July. [passage omitted]

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UNHCR Resumes Aid Shipments in Eastern Areas

LD0308223694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2135 GMT 3 Aug 94

[Text] Zvornik, August 3 (TANJUG)—The UNHCR [Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees] has resumed humanitarian aid shipments for the Moslem enclaves in eastern Bosnia via Bosnian Serb territory, Bosnian Serb military sources told TANJUG today.

As unexpectedly as the convoys were suspended seven days ago, humanitarian convoys resumed their passage through the Bosnian Serb republic, said the command of the Bosnian Serb Army garrison in Zvornik, where convoys are routinely checked.

An 11-lorry UNHCR convoy brought 55 tonnes of flour and soap and a large quantity of clothing to the Moslem enclave of Zepa on Tuesday evening.

As usual in such situations, the Serb side secured safe and unhindered passage for this humanitarian convoy through Bosnian Serb territory, the command said.

Russian Troops Join Anti-Sniper Effort

AU0408094994 Paris AFP in English 0939 GMT 4 Aug 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Aug 4 (AFP)—Russian and Ukrainian soldiers in the United Nations force joined their French counterparts Thursday to protect passers-by from snipers in the Bosnian capital, the United Nations said Thursday [4 August].

United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) soldiers also spent several hours overnight in a standoff with Bosnian Serb fighters who were trying to grab weapons from a depot near Sarajevo, Major Gregoire Verdon said.

Meanwhile, heavy artillery duels were reported about 30 kilometres (19 miles) northwest of Sarajevo in the Vares region where the Bosnian Army launched an offensive a few days ago to try and regain territory from the Serbs.

On Thursday French, Russian and Ukrainian armoured vehicles took up positions in the most exposed sector of Sarajevo around the Holiday Inn, just 200 metres (yards) from the frontline to try and discourage Serb snipers from firing at civilians.

UNPROFOR said that Russians and Ukrainians were asked to take part in the civilian protection operation to show that even those considered most favourable to the Serbs, notably the Russians, help defend civilians in Sarajevo.

Serb snipers are concentrating their fire on Sarajevo's tramway, the symbol of efforts to resume normal life in the city, and in the past week have killed two civilians and injured another 16.

An agreement in principle reached Tuesday night by the Bosnians and Serbs to silence the snipers has not been respected and, according to a UN source, the Serb military is asking for changes to be made in the agreement.

HVO Lodges Protest With Army Over Incident

LD0308142394 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 3 Aug 94

[Excerpt] Officials at the headquarters of the operational area of the Vitez HVO [Bosnian Croat forces] have released the details of an incident caused by Muslim civilian authorities and units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's First Corps. Zdenko Vranjes reporting:

Two days ago, while using abandoned trenches in line with an earlier agreement, a company of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's First Corps came behind the lines of the HVO's 96th Home Guards' regiment. They launched a treacherous attack and captured 12 HVO soldiers and took control of a position facing the Serb army on Zvijezda mountain near Vares, previously held by the 96th regiment. In addition to the 12 captured soldiers, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army also took six hostages, so out of concern for the prisoners, the HVO refrained from responding to the attack. According to Brigadier Franjo Nakic, head of the Vitez operational area headquarters, following HVO's harsh demands, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's First Corps released 18 people, but it kept the captured position and weapons.

When the HVO's main headquarters and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's supreme headquarters were informed about this serious breach of the cease-fire agreement, Brigadier Filip Filipovic, the commander of the Vitez operational area, arrived in Vares. He will hold talks today with General Karavelic, commander of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's First Corps, and demand that the soldiers responsible for the incident be punished and that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army return the captured weapons and equipment and immediately withdraw from the position.

Officials at the Vitez operational area warn that if Muslim authorities and their army in Vares continue staging incidents, this could seriously damage relations in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and halt the progress in the implementation of the peace plan, which, in central Bosnia is according to UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], a model for the whole federation. [passage omitted]

Army Captures Territory, Serbian Weapons in Brcko

AU0408113294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 4 Aug 94

[Report by Hamiz Deronjic from Brcko]

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[Text] The legendary 108th Motorized Brigade has enlarged the free Brcko territory by four square kilometers. Yesterday's fierce offensive on the free Brcko territory came back on the aggressor with a vengeance. Throughout the day the heroes of the 108th Motorized Brigade resisted truly hellish artillery and tank-infantry attacks by the Chetniks, and then—after inflicting huge losses on the aggressor—they launched a ferocious counteroffensive. Not even an entire Chetnik corps could have halted this counterattack by the legendary 108th Motorized Brigade, led by Colonel Ramiz (Sljakic), commander in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. In less than two hours [words indistinct] the Brcko whirlwind simply retook all the territory that had taken the aggressor a 10-day offensive a year ago—with the help of elite units of the Yugoslav Army—to capture with great difficulties.

In the rapid counterattack, the fighters of the 108th Motorized Brigade destroyed a Chetnik T-34 tank with its entire crew, annihilated all the Chetnik strongholds, and killed over 50 Chetniks. (?A considerable amount of weapons) was captured. Here is a list of the abundant war spoils that the 108th Motorized Brigade captured after liberating (Gornja) Brka: One T-34 tank in perfect condition, five recoilless guns, two 60-mm mortars, over 20 self-propelled rocket launchers, 10 M-53 machine guns, five M-84 machine guns, one 20.1-mm antiaircraft machine gun, a 14.5-mm antiaircraft gun, five 12.7-mm Broving guns, two Pinzgauers, seven civilian vehicles, a truck full of ammunition, and over 50 pieces of small arms.

Serbian Forces Shell Tuzla, Six Injured

AU0308192494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 3 Aug 94

[Text] The aggressor's grenades are against falling on Tuzla—a town that was proclaimed a UN protected area. The Majevica Chetniks today [words indistinct] long-range artillery fired several projectiles [word indistinct] (?early morning). At 1340 they fired another 13 howitzer and (word indistinct) grenades on the town center. Salih Brkic reports:

[Begin Brkic recording] In this latest savage Chetnik attack on the town and civilians, six people sustained various degrees of injuries and great material destruction was caused. [Words indistinct] (?Adema Muhadovic died) [word indistinct] two children were injured in today's shelling of Tuzla. The general alarm in Tuzla remains in force. This was Salih Brkic reporting from Tuzla. [end recording]

Bihac Prosecutor Charges Abdic With War Crimes

AU0408122794 Paris AFP in English 1213 GMT 4 Aug 94

[Text] Zagreb, Aug 4 (AFP)—The public prosecutor of Bihac began criminal proceedings against Moslem dissident leader Fikret Abdic for "war crimes" committed in the Moslem enclave in northwest Bosnia-Herzegovina, a statement from the Bosnian embassy in Zagreb said Thursday. Abdic is accused of "attacking civilians, starving the people, illegal imprisonment" and "enforced conscription" of civilians into an "enemy army", along with "inhuman treatment" of prisoners of war.

The millionaire "boss of Velika Kladusa", his stronghold near the Croatian border, also stands accused of "the destruction of historic and cultural monuments" in northwest Bosnia.

Abdic, who has 5,000 to 6,000 men under his command, announced the secession of Bihac in July 1993.

At the same time as breaking with the Sarajevo government he made peace with the Croats and the Bosnian Serbs. The latter gave him important logistical support. Bihac public prosecutor Rasema Toromanovic is also instigating proceedings against Abdic for proclaiming an "independent province of western Bosnia" in violation of the Constitution.

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Minister Satisfied With UNPROFOR Meeting

LD0408102594 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0803 GMT 4 Aug 94

[Text] Croatian Internal Affairs Minister Ivan Jarnjak, announced after a meeting with Brigadier General Jozef Chmiel, the UNPROFOR commander for Sector North, that a central disengagement commission will deal with the problem of Ukrainian soldiers who have committed violations. Jarnjak was satisfied with the meeting and stated that UNPROFOR is open and interested in solving all problems.

Activities of 143d Ogulin Brigade Praised

94BA0363D Zagreb HRVATSKI VOJNIK in Serbo-Croatian 6 May 94 pp 25-27

[Article by Vesna Puljak: "143d Ogulin"]

[Text] *They stood in defense of the homeland at the moment when the first shell fell on the Ogulin region, defying the criminal onslaught of the enemy. Now too, the 143d Ogulin Brigade is strengthening the backbone of Croatia, and it will continue to do so until peace is finally established in this region.*

Ogulin, the city at the foot of Klek that the war could not crush, defied the enemy onslaught through its tenacity. The enemy forces failed to penetrate its defenses, mostly because of the Ogulin defenders, who had neither an easy nor a simple time defending it, at least until the enemy forces were obliged to abandon the barracks and numerous arms and ammunition depots located in and around Ogulin. Their capture in mid-September 1991 greatly changed the situation not only for the Ogulin defenders, but also for many other units of the Croatian Armed Forces that desperately needed weaponry. If not the first, then certainly one of the first barracks of the former JA [Yugoslav Army] in Croatia was captured here, and the Skradnik I and II and Ostarije I and II military depots, with enormous quantities of infantry and artillery weapons and ammunition, were in Croatian hands. The enemy forces succeeded in destroying only the Ostarije I depot when they retreated. The people of Ogulin remember that time, the horrible explosions that shook the foundations of Ogulin and the enormous mushroom flames that rose several hundreds of meters in the air. In that way, the enemy forces left Ogulin forever, and today they threaten it from occupied Plaski, Medved, and Saborsko, villages from which the Croat population had to flee in order to save themselves. First and foremost among those who must be credited with the fact that the defense of Ogulin did not give way are the members of the 143d Brigade of the Croatian Armed Forces.

The 143d Ogulin Brigade came into being under an order from the minister of defense of the Republic of Croatia on 13 November 1991, based on a unit of the Klek Company that had been organized in early July not far from Ogulin, and the 4th Battalion of the 110th Brigade of the ZNG [National Guard Corps], the entire composition of which came from the Ogulin region and which had been founded in September 1991. Members of the 4th Battalion of the 110th Brigade participated in defensive campaigns in the Pokupsko, Belajska Poljica, and Slunjska Brda region, and in the capture of the Logoriste Barracks in Karlovac. With the fall of the enemy barracks in Ogulin and vicinity in September 1991, the attacks by the Serb rebels and former JA in the Ogulin region intensified, especially against the villages of Kamenica, Carevo Polje, Cerovnik, Modruski Sabljaci, and Modrus, and for that reason the battalion was assigned to defend these regions under the command of Stjepan Gasljevic, who at the time held the post of commander of the city's defenses and successfully carried out all defensive duties.

The 143d Brigade grew out of all these units. After the enemy's infantry attacks in July 1991, their forces were pushed out of the Josipdol and Kamenica area, and to this day the front has not shifted back despite all the attacks and artillery activities; indeed, during combat operations the enemy has been pushed back to a depth of 10 km.

The brigade comprises primarily people from the Ogulin region, but to fill in gaps it was expanded in 1993 with the addition of conscripts from the Rijeka and Crikvenica region. They will tell you in jest that grilling food at a thousand meters and with two meters of snow is no longer out of the ordinary. Living conditions on the front line, which is one of the most difficult lines currently held by units of the Croatian Armed Forces, are extremely rough. Especially on the slopes, where snow drifts in the winter reach as high as two meters. Any supplies have had to come in by horse and snowmobile, and shifts have lasted up to 10 hours.

It is precisely in this area that there have been frequent attempts at enemy infantry attacks and commando operations, because the woods make it possible to approach within several dozen meters unobserved, but in the 143d Brigade's zone of responsibility not a single commando team has managed to pass or to get off scot-free.

Here, the battle front has been shifted forward to protect the most important road to the south from the too frequent artillery attacks by the enemy forces. The 143d Brigade's positions were in some places only a hundred meters from the enemy positions, and not a single day passed without provocation from recoilless guns or mortars, while the provocations from infantry weapons are not even counted. For that reason, a great deal of effort and will has been invested in the entrenchments at the positions, and when the enemy shells have allowed a breathing spell consolidating the positions has been the top order of business.

Helping each other out, there is exceptionally good cooperation with other units of the Croatian Armed Forces that are also holding the battle line.

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The command staff has matured fully and become hardened in the homeland war, and the brigade, initially under the command of Colonel Ivan Magdic and later led by Brigadier Cvetko Blazevic and Colonel Zvonimir Zupanic, is today under the command of Major Mate Padjen, who has led it since November 1993. The battle line is such that its length demands constant awareness, so that ongoing training is conducted with that consideration in mind. Particular emphasis must be given to the members of the brigade, whose numbers are not negligible, who are from the marginal regions of Ogulin and who have never been anywhere other than on the front line. Their villages—Kamenica, Luketic, Spehari, Pavlici, Cerovnik, Modruski Sabljaci—are continuous targets of enemy projectiles, but they have never been abandoned.

The positions are toured every day, the commanders are always here with the fighters at the front line, and there have been no operations where they did not take the first step. In one such operation, the commander of the 1st Battalion of the 143d Brigade, Miroslav Dujmic, was killed, while the deputy commander was wounded.

Even today, the positions that are held are such that their presence on the line is of major importance, because the security of the road depends on how the assigned tasks are carried out. Thus far, there has been no cause for concern, and they assure us that the situation will remain the same. All assigned tasks to this day have been carried out fully, with maximum commitment. That is how it will be, they say, until peace is finally established in this region, and until then all assigned tasks will be performed with maximum efficiency, i.e., in the manner expected of them. Completely.

During the war, the brigade has lost 35 members, and around 120 of them have been wounded. The welfare division on the brigade level is providing maximum care for all disabled soldiers, wounded, and families of the dead. They are visited regularly, the most recent time with special Easter presents, and they are offered assistance in whatever way necessary, from supplying firewood to anything else. The brigade has played a significant role in this area, and will continue to do so, they say.

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Federal

Government Suspends Relations With Bosnian Serbs

LD0408113994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1112 GMT 4 Aug 94

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—At a session today the Federal [Yugoslav] Government passed a decision to suspend all political and economic relations with the [Bosnian] Serb republic.

A statement from the session reads:

"By rejecting peace, the leadership of the Serb Republic has committed the most serious act against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples, and all citizens living in the region.

"This is why the federal government has passed the following decision:

- to suspend all political and economic relations with the Serb republic;

- to ban members of the Serb republic leadership (of the assembly, the presidency, and the government) from the territory of the FRY;

- as of today the FRY border is closed to all transports to the Serb republic, except for food, clothes, and medicines."

Serbia

Milosevic Condemns Bosnian Serb Decision

LD0408130494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1213 GMT 4 Aug 94

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—In connection with a decision adopted by the leadership of the Serb republic last night, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has made the following public statement:

"The decision by the leadership in Pale is undoubtedly one of the most serious decisions against the interests of the Serb republic itself, but also against the interests of the entire Serbian people and the citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

"All their explanations that the Serbian people would be threatened by the acceptance of the peace plan have become senseless and absurd in the light of the fact that by doing so they are rejecting the safe border guaranteed by the international community, rejecting the border over which no shells would be flying and at which nobody else would be dying.

"They have rejected peace at a time when their Serb republic has been recognized within the half of the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina and when, by accepting peace, they would have ensured the lifting of the sanctions against those without whom they could not survive.

"They have decided to call a referendum to hide their responsibility behind the citizens and the people who bleed daily and who were given only the amount of information the leadership wanted the people to receive. They have called the referendum to shift onto their citizens the responsibility for their state policy, which they did not ask the citizens and which the state policy the citizens were not in the position to conduct. In this way the Serbian people in the Serb republic will become an accomplice in their decisions to its own inestimable detriment. This is why the Bosnian Serb leadership's decision against the people is all the more serious and heinous.

"Their decision to reject peace cannot—by any criterium of truth and justice—be in the interests of the people but can only be in the interests of war profiteers and in the interests of those who do not have a clean conscience, and who fear the arrival of a peace in which all crimes will come to the surface.

"The Serbian people in the Serb republic are being brought into a position in which the lives of their dearest sons, who are fighting heroically, are being paid for by insane political ambitions and the greed of their leadership, while those who are making the decisions in reality do not have sons at the front.

"They have turned a deaf ear to the demands and to the vital interests of all the citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], as a result of whose renunciation sacrifices and solidarity they have survived.

"They have demonstrated cruel arrogance vis-a-vis the interests of the vast majority of the Serbian people and all citizens of Yugoslavia.

"They have usurped the right to decide on the future of the 11 million citizens of the FRY.

"By making the decision they have made, they have seriously threatened the security and the interests of Serb Krajina.

"On innumerable occasions before they gave us good reason to suspend all relations with them because they failed to keep any promise they made: from Sarajevo to Athens, from Athens to Gorazde, from Gorazde to the assembly, and from the assembly to this latest referendum, which they said they would not call.

"We hesitated to suspend relations hoping that they would, nevertheless, at the crucial moment act in line with the people's greatest interest and opt for peace.

"Now they acted directly against the people's interest and assumed the right to decide about the lives of millions of people. They can do nothing worse and more serious against the interest of their own people.

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"This is why we must suspend all ties and cooperation with such leadership.

"Let the people of the Serb republic know that we have always been, and will always be, on their side, and that now, when we are rising against their leadership, we are in fact on their side."

Montenegro

Explosion Reported in Budva Hotel Parking Lot

LD0408111094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0954 GMT 4 Aug 94

[Text] Podgorica, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—An explosive devise was planted in front of the Avala Hotel in the Budva town center around 0435 [0235 GMT] this morning. One person was killed and two were lightly wounded in the explosion, the Montenegrin Ministry of Internal Affairs has announced.

According to a statement by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, unknown people planted and activated the explosive devise under a Korado car, registration plate BG 270-202 [from Belgrade], driven by Borislav Nedovic called Boro, from Berane, with permanent residence in Belgrade. The vehicle was completely destroyed in the explosion, and the owner Borislav Nedovic was killed.

Mihailo Djuric, born in 1975, and Andreja Bilbija, born in 1977, both from Banja Luka, were lightly wounded and urgently transferred to hospital in Kotor.

The explosion caused a fire, which completely destroyed 15 vehicles, while several more were damaged.

Part of the Avala Hotel, above the main entrance, caught on fire but the fire was localized by a quick intervention by Budva police, members of the special unit of the Montenegrin Ministry of Interior and firebrigades from Budva.

The investigative bodies have taken all the measures necessary to find the culprit. According to the first reports from the investigation, the explosion was most probably an act of personal revenge, the statement by the Montenegrin Ministry of Interior says at the end.

Victim From 'Belgrade Mafia'

AU0408125594 Paris AFP in English 1237 GMT 4 Aug 94

[Excerpts] Belgrade, Aug 4 (AFP)—One person was killed and two injured when a car bomb exploded in a hotel car park in Budva on Montenegro's Adriatic coast early Thursday [4 August], police said. [passage omitted]

According to the Montenegro news agency MONTENA-FAX, the victim of the explosion belonged to the Belgrade mafia.

The explosion spread panic in the hotel. Holidaymakers woke up with a start and jumped out of second floor windows, but there were no injuries.

Belgrade television showed pictures of burnt-out cars in the hotel carpark.

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